

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EUR-12 EA-10 NEA-10 ISO-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 PCH-33 SIG-03
SAA-01 INT-05 /162 R

DRAFTED BY IO/ML:MJACOBS:LW
APPROVED BY IO:CWMAYNES
IO:GBHELMAN
IO/ML:PWKRIEBEL
IO:GADALLEY
ARA/CCA:WSMITH
AF/I:LGSHURTLEFF
EA/RA:LMCNUUTT (DRAFT)
EA/K:FMISCH (DRAFT)
EUR:DGOOTT (DRAFT)
EUR/EE:DJOHNSON
P:TMILLER
NEA:SPERRY
ARA/VAKY
NSC:RPASTOR
ARA/RPP:CFINAN

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P R 142223Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NASSAU
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BISSAU POUCH
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA POUCH
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA POUCH
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY KIGALI POUCH
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AMEMBASSY LILONGWE POUCH
AMEMBASSY MBABANE POUCH
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH
USLO PEKING POUCH
AMEMBASSY TOKYO POUCH
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE POUCH
XMT AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY BISSAU
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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AMEMBASSY MBABANE
AMEMBASSY MASERU
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178242

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PORG

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: JULY 25-29 NON-ALIGNED
FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING AT BELGRADE: PART II

REF: STATE 178240

1. INTRODUCTION. THIS IS THE SECOND OF TWO MESSAGES ON THE JULY NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AT BELGRADE. IT FOCUSSES ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ZIONISM-RACISM, SOUTHERN AFRICA, MASS MEDIA, PUERTO RICO AND KOREA, ALL ISSUES OF KEY IMPORTANCE TO THE US. GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS ON REPRESENTATIONS AND REPORTING WERE INCLUDED IN THE FIRST MESSAGE.

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2. MIDDLE EAST. THE HAVANA MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU (NACB) ADOPTED LANGUAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST THAT WAS STRONGLY ANTI-US, ALLEGING A PLOT TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT OVER THE HEADS OF THE PALESTINIANS, AND CONTAINING A VEILED REJECTION OF THE SADAT PEACE INITIATIVE. BY PERSUADING THE NACB TO TAKE SIDES IN THE INTRA-ARAB DEBATE ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE MOVES, HOWEVER INDIRECT IT MAY HAVE BEEN, THE "STEADFAST" ARABS GAINED A TACTICAL ADVANTAGE OVER THE EGYPTIANS. NON-ARAB MEMBERS OF THE NACB SUPPORTED

THEM BECAUSE OF A GENERAL BELIEF THAT ISRAELI "INTRANSIGENCE" MERITED A STRONGER NON-ALIGNED LINE. THE "STEADFAST" ARABS, AND THE SYRIANS, IN PARTICULAR, ARE LIKELY TO PRESS THEIR CASE AGAIN AT BELGRADE, HOPING FOR FULL NAM ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR POSITION, BUT THE EGYPTIANS MAY FIND MORE ALLIES AND A MORE RECEPTIVE ATMOSPHERE THAN AT HAVANA. THE BELGRADE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE, FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT AND CALLING FOR THE RECONVOCATION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, DOES NOT CONTAIN THE HEAVY-HANDED SYRIAN-INSPIRED FORMULATIONS THAT THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE DID. EGYPTIAN INTENTIONS REMAIN SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR. THE EGYPTIANS WERE RELATIVELY SATISFIED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST LANGUAGE AT HAVANA, WHICH DID NOT ATTACK SADAT BY NAME, BUT ARE UNEASY ABOUT RADICAL INFLUENCE IN THE NAM, GENERALLY, AND ARE PLANNING TO PLAY A MORE DECISIVE ROLE AT THE BELGRADE MEETING IN TRYING TO COUNTERACT THEM.

3. TALKING POINTS:

-- SUCH CRITICISM OF US MIDDLE EAST POLICY AND
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MOTIVES FAILS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR PAST AND PRESENT EFFORTS TO FACILITATE A JUST, PEACEFUL AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. IT IS, THUS, UNFAIR AND UNHELPFUL TO THESE EFFORTS.

-- SIMILARLY, TAKING SIDES IN THE INTRA-ARAB DEBATE ON THE NEXT STEPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST CAN ONLY HARDEN POSITIONS AND COMPLICATE PEACE EFFORTS.

-- HOST GOVERNMENTS SHOULD NOT BE DISTRACTED BY MOMENTARY SETBACKS TO PEACE EFFORTS. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE SADAT PEACE INITIATIVE REMAINS THE BEST AVENUE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

-- WITH THE EXPECTED RECONVENING OF TALKS IN LONDON THIS MONTH BY EGYPT, ISRAEL AND THE US, WE HOPE THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS WILL NOT SUPPORT LANGUAGE AND MEASURES AT BELGRADE THAT COULD COMPLICATE THE PEACE PROCESS.

FOR AFRICAN POSTS: IF DAS DALLEY OR POSTS RECENTLY MADE REPRESENTATIONS ALONG THESE LINES (STATE 163024 NOTAL), YOU HAVE DISCRETION IN DECIDING WHETHER TO GO IN AGAIN ON THIS SUBJECT.

FOR ARAB POSTS: YOU MAY ADJUST TALKING POINTS TO SUIT YOUR CIRCUMSTANCES.

FOR CAIRO: ADD THE FOLLOWING:

-- WE UNDERSTAND THE GOE'S ATTEMPT AT HAVANA TO ATTENUATE CRITICISM OF THE SADAT INITIATIVE; HOWEVER, THE FORMULATION WHICH EVENTUALLY EMERGED, FOCUSSED ON THE US RATHER THAN EGYPT, IS NONETHELESS HARMFUL INsofar AS IT MIGHT MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR EGYPT AND THE US TO DEFEND AND PROMOTE THE INITIATIVE AMONG
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THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AND IN THE UN SYSTEM. IN THIS REGARD, WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU SEE THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE BEING HANDLED AT BELGRADE.

4. ZIONISM/RACISM (Z/R). THE DAKAR ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN APRIL AND THE NACB BOTH REAFFIRMED THE LINKAGE BETWEEN ZIONISM AND RACISM, THE FIRST SUCH REAFFIRMATION IN TWO YEARS. THESE MOVES WERE CLOSELY TIED IN WITH "STEADFAST" ARAB DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO ISOLATE AND DISCREDIT SUPPORTERS OF THE SADAT PEACE INITIATIVE AND ARE LIKELY TO BE PRESSED AGAIN AT BELGRADE AS PART OF THE LARGER ATTACK ON ISRAEL. WE ARE DISMAYED AT THE REAFFIRMATION OF THIS ABHORRENT 1975 UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION (3379) AND FULLY EXPECT THAT, IF CARRIED OVER INTO THE WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (GENEVA, AUGUST 1978) AND THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY (SEPTEMBER), IT WILL HAVE A SEVERE

EFFECT ON US PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE UN. THE KEY TO WHETHER IT WILL CARRY OVER LIES WITH THE AFRICANS, WHO HAVE HITHERTO REGARDED Z/R AS AN UNHELPFUL DIVERSION FROM THE UN'S ANTI-APARTHEID EFFORTS AND OPPOSED REAFFIRMATION. HOWEVER, THE AFRICANS ARE ANGERED BY OUR REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORLD CONFERENCE (BECAUSE, IN OUR VIEW, IT IS TAINTED BY ASSOCIATION WITH RESOLUTION 3379), AND MAY NO LONGER OPPOSE THE ARABS ON REAFFIRMATION. THE BELGRADE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE OMITTS ANY REFERENCE TO Z/R BUT THIS IS NO INDICATION OF ARAB AND AFRICAN INTENTIONS.

5. TALKING POINTS:

-- IN OUR OPINION, RESOLUTION 3379 IS AN ABHORRENT
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AND TENDENTIOUS POLITICAL WEAPON WITH NO SUBSTANTIVE MERIT AND WITH GREAT DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL. WE TOTALLY REJECT IT BOTH ON SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS AND ON THE GROUNDS OF THE DAMAGE IT CAN DO TO PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE UN.

-- ATTEMPTS TO REAFFIRM THE RESOLUTION AT THIS TIME

ARE PART OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN WITH FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES FOR PEACE EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF THEY SUCCEED, THEY CAN ONLY ENGENDER A DEEP AND HOSTILE PUBLIC REACTION WHICH WILL HARDEN OFFICIAL POSITIONS, REDUCE ROOM FOR MANEUVER AND, THUS, COMPLICATE PEACE EFFORTS.

-- WE HOPE THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS WHICH SUPPORT THESE PEACE EFFORTS WILL THINK OF THE EFFECT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS A WHOLE WHEN CONSIDERING THEIR POSITIONS ON ANY EFFORT TO REVIVE Z/R AT BELGRADE.

-- THEY SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THAT REAFFIRMATION AT BELGRADE WILL GIVE ADDED IMPETUS TO Z/R AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE AND IN THE UN. REAFFIRMATION THERE WILL SERIOUSLY ERODE THE CREDIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN'S ANTI-APARTHEID EFFORTS IN KEY WESTERN COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE UN.

-- THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION AS A VERY STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE UN WILL BE MADE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT BY REAFFIRMATION OF Z/R IN THE UN.

FOR OAU POSTS: YOU HAVE DISCRETION ON WHETHER TO GO IN IF REPRESENTATIONS ALONG THESE LINES WERE RECENTLY MADE. YOU SHOULD ADJUST THE PRESENTATION IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS AT THE OAU MEETING.

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FOR ARAB POSTS: YOU MAY ADJUST TALKING POINTS TO SUIT YOUR CIRCUMSTANCES OR DECIDE NOT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS IF THEY WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE BUT POSTS IN MODERATE CAPITALS, ESPECIALLY CAIRO, AMMAN, TUNIS AND RABAT, SHOULD NOT DISMISS THE POSSIBILITY THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS MAY BE PREPARED, AS THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY DONE, TO RESIST THE MORE RADICAL ARABS ON THIS ISSUE.

6. SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE AFRICANS AT HAVANA PROTECTED THE WESTERN INITIATIVES ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA IN THEIR RE-WRITE OF THE ORIGINAL CUBAN COMMUNIQUE; THERE WAS NO DIRECT OR DAMAGING REFERENCE TO THE INITIATIVES IN THE FINAL VERSION. TAKING THEIR CUE FROM THE AFRICANS, THE YUGOSLAVS' DRAFT COMMUNIQUE FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING REITERATES TRADITIONAL NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WITHOUT BREAKING NEW GROUND OR REFERRING DIRECTLY TO THE WESTERN INITIATIVES. THE OUTCOME ON THIS ISSUE AT BELGRADE WILL DEPEND HEAVILY ON THE STATE OF PLAY

IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA AT THE TIME OF THE MEETING; WITH SOUTH AFRICAN AND, NOW, SWAPO ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PLAN FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE THIS YEAR, WE WOULD EXPECT THE AFRICANS AND, HENCE, THE NAM TO TAKE A RELATIVELY UNCONTENTIOUS, IF NOT FAVORABLE, POSITION WITH RESPECT TO OUR ROLE IN AFRICA.

7. TALKING POINTS:

-- THIS ADMINISTRATION ATTACHES THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO THE GOALS OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND IS WORKING WITH OUR WESTERN PARTNERS,
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FRONT LINE STATES AND OTHERS TOWARD THEIR EARLY ACCOMPLISHMENT.

-- THROUGH CONSIDERABLE EFFORT, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON A PLAN FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE.

-- WE BELIEVE THE NAM SHOULD TAKE POSITIVE COGNIZANCE OF THIS DEVELOPMENT AND TAKE IT INTO CONSIDERATION ALSO WHEN IT EVALUATES WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO IN RHODESIA.

8. MASS MEDIA. MASS MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS ISSUES

ARE EXPECTED TO FIGURE PROMINENTLY AT THE BELGRADE MEETING AS THE NAM PREPARES FOR THE 20TH UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE (OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1978) AND THE WORLD ADMINISTRATIVE RADIO CONFERENCE (SEPTEMBER 1979). WORKING GROUPS WILL REPORT AT BELGRADE ON THE PROGRESS ATTAINED THUS FAR IN IMPLEMENTING THE "NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER," A GROUP OF PROPOSALS THAT SOME WISH TO TWIST INTO LEGITIMIZING GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF NEWS. IMPORTANT US INTERESTS, INCLUDING THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND CONTINUED UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO RADIO FREQUENCIES, ARE INVOLVED.

9. TALKING POINTS:

-- BOTH BILATERALLY AND THROUGH THE UN, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS ACCELERATED COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT FOR THE LDCS.

-- WE PERCEIVE LESS CONFRONTATION AND A MORE MODERATE TONE TO THE GLOBAL DEBATE ON COMMUNICATION ISSUES, AND WE HOPE THIS MODERATION WILL BE ENDORSED AT BELGRADE.

-- THE U.S. MEDIA COMMUNITY UNDERSTANDS THIRD WORLD ASPIRATIONS IN MASS COMMUNICATION, INCLUDING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ESTABLISHMENT OF NEWS AGENCY POOLS, AND STANDS READY TO OFFER A HELPING HAND. BUT IT IS OPPOSED TO CENSORSHIP, STATE CONTROL OF INFORMATION FLOWS AND RESTRICTIONS ON THE MOVEMENT AND WORK OF JOURNALISTS. THE GOAL SHOULD BE TO CREATE MORE VOICES NOT TO ELIMINATE THEM.

-- THERE IS ROOM FOR PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY IN THE UNDERSTANDING AND APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES BUT WE REGARD ACQUIESCENCE IN RESTRICTIONS OR ENCUMBRANCES UPON THE AUTONOMOUS MASS MEDIA AS CONTRARY TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO UPHOLD THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY ARTICLE 19, SPECIFYING THE RIGHT "TO SEEK, RECEIVE AND IMPART INFORMATION AND IDEAS FROM ANY MEDIA, REGARDLESS OF FRONTIERS," AND THE UNESCO CONSTITUTION, WHICH UPHOLDS "THE UNRESTRICTED PURSUIT OF OBJECTIVE TRUTH AND THE FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND KNOWLEDGE."

-- WE WILL COOPERATE WITH UNESCO DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOW IN CARRYING OUT HIS MANDATE TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS IN PURSUIT OF THE "LARGEST POSSIBLE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT" ON A DRAFT TEXT.

-- HOWEVER, WE SEE THE DRAFTS THAT HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED

THUS FAR AS BEING IRRELEVANT TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE
THIRD WORLD IN PURSUING GREATER EQUITY AND LESS
DEPENDENCE IN COMMUNICATING WITH THE WORLD OUTSIDE
THEIR BORDERS.

10. PUERTO RICO. THE HAVANA NACB COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS
RELATIVELY MODERATE LANGUAGE ON PUERTO RICO, REPEATING
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THE NOW TRADITIONAL CALL FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND
INDEPENDENCE AND UNSPECIFIED ACTION TO ACHIEVE THESE
ENDS. WE EXPECT THE CUBANS TO TAKE THE LEAD ON
THIS ISSUE AT BELGRADE, AS THEY HAVE DONE IN THE
PAST, AS WELL AS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR A REITERATION
OF THE TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE. THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT
COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS A PRO FORMA VERSION OF THE
TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE. BARRING UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS,
WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE NON-ALIGNED WILL WISH TO ANTAGONIZE
THE US BY ADOPTING TOUGHER LANGUAGE ON THIS ISSUE,
WHICH MOST OF THEM ANYWAY SEE AS MARGINAL TO
THE NAM. OUR MAIN OBJECTIVE IS TO INCREASE THE NUMBER
OF RESERVATIONS ON THE PUERTO RICAN LANGUAGE AT BELGRADE

AND, THUS, WEAKEN THE IMPACT OF THE NON-ALIGNED
POSITION ON THIS INTERNAL US MATTER.

11. TALKING POINTS:

-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT HOST GOVERNMENT IS INFORMED OF
THE VIEWS OF THE US REGARDING THE STATUS OF PUERTO
RICO, BUT BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE TO
US WE WISH TO DRAW THIS MATTER TO HOST GOVERNMENT'S
ATTENTION PRIOR TO THE BELGRADE MEETING.

-- THE US RECOGNIZES AND SUPPORTS THE RIGHT OF THE
PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO SELF-DETERMINATION, INCLUDING
INDEPENDENCE IF THAT IS THEIR WISH. PRESIDENT CARTER
HAS STATED THAT HE WILL SUPPORT WHATEVER STATUS THE
PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO DESIRE.

-- THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO REGULARLY VOTE IN FREE
ELECTIONS IN WHICH PRO-INDEPENDENCE, PRO-STATEHOOD
AND PRO-COMMONWEALTH PARTIES PARTICIPATE. THE VOTERS
HAVE ALWAYS FAVORED PRO-COMMONWEALTH OR PRO-STATEHOOD
PARTIES. THE COMBINED VOTE OF THE TWO PRO-INDEPENDENCE
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PARTIES WHICH CONTESTED THE 1976 ELECTION WAS
APPROXIMATELY 6 PERCENT. WE BELIEVE IT IS INAPPROPRIATE
THAT OUTSIDE BODIES SHOULD CALL FOR PUERTO RICAN

INDEPENDENCE DESPITE THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY.

-- WE CONSIDER THE STATUS OF PUERTO RICO TO BE AN INTERNAL MATTER WHICH SHOULD BE RESOLVED BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO AND THE US GOVERNMENT. IN PARTICULAR, ANY COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION IS INAPPROPRIATE; WE STRENUOUSLY OPPOSE IT. ACTION BY THE UN ON PUERTO RICO WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES IN THE US AND DISCREDIT THE UN.

-- (WHERE APPROPRIATE) WE WERE PLEASED TO NOTE THE RESERVATIONS ENTERED BY HOST GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT HAVANA.

-- IF THE BELGRADE COMMUNIQUE INCLUDES LANGUAGE CALLING FOR ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS TO BRING ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO, WE HOPE HOST GOVERNMENT WILL (AGAIN) MAKE KNOWN ITS RESERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT.

12. KOREA. THE NAM HAS LONG TAKEN A COMPLETELY ONE-SIDED POSITION IN FAVOR OF NORTH KOREA, A FULL

MEMBER OF THE MOVEMENT. IT DID SO AGAIN AT HAVANA, INDEED TOUGHENING THE LANGUAGE. FURTHER NAM ENDORSEMENT OF THAT LANGUAGE COULD ENCOURAGE THE NORTH KOREANS TO THINK SERIOUSLY OF REINTRODUCING THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UNGA AGENDA AFTER AN ABSENCE OF TWO YEARS.

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THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT COMMUNIQUE HEWS CLOSELY TO THE TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE ON KOREA, IN A SOMEWHAT BLANDER FORM THAN THAT EMPLOYED AT HAVANA. WE DO NOT BELIEVE ANYONE, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF PYONGYANG, WANTS TO RESUME THE FRUITLESS AND BITTER UNGA KOREA DEBATES OF THE PAST BUT THE NORTH KOREANS ARE NOTHING IF NOT DETERMINED.

13. TALKING POINTS:

-- THE ABSENCE OF THE KOREA ISSUE FROM THE 31ST AND 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLIES SAVED TIME AND ENERGY FOR MORE PRODUCTIVE ISSUES AND REMOVED A DIVISIVE QUESTION FROM THE AGENDA.

-- WE STRONGLY HOPE THE NAM WILL TREAT THE ISSUE IN A WAY WHICH CONTINUES TO LEAVE THE ISSUE TO BE PURSUED BY THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED.

-- IF THE NAM NEVERTHELESS ADOPTS UNACCEPTABLE

LANGUAGE ON KOREA, WE HOPE HOST GOVERNMENT WILL (AGAIN)
MAKE KNOWN ITS RESERVATIONS.

CHRISTOPHER

NOTE BY OC/T: POUCHED ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USINT HAVANA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178242

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 178242 ACTION NONALIGNED MOOVEMENT COLLECTIVE
INFO ANKARA ASUNCION ATHENS BOGOTA BONN BRASILIA BRIDGETOWN
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-- WE UNDERSTAND THE GOE'S ATTEMPT AT HAVANA TO ATTENUATE CRITICISM OF THE SADAT INITIATIVE; HOWEVER, THE FORMULATION WHICH EVENTUALLY EMERGED, FOCUSSED ON THE US RATHER THAN EGYPT, IS NONETHELESS HARMFUL INsofar AS IT MIGHT MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR EGYPT AND THE US TO DEFEND AND PROMOTE THE INITIATIVE AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AND IN THE UN SYSTEM. IN THIS REGARD, WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU SEE THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE BEING HANDLED AT BELGRADE.

4. ZIONISM/RACISM (Z/R). THE DAKAR ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN APRIL AND THE NACB BOTH REAFFIRMED THE LINKAGE BETWEEN ZIONISM AND RACISM, THE FIRST SUCH REAFFIRMATION IN TWO YEARS. THESE MOVES WERE CLOSELY TIED IN WITH "STEADFAST" ARAB DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO ISOLATE AND DISCREDIT SUPPORTERS OF THE SADAT PEACE INITIATIVE AND ARE LIKELY TO BE PRESSED AGAIN AT BELGRADE AS PART OF THE LARGER ATTACK ON ISRAEL. WE ARE DISMAYED AT THE REAFFIRMATION OF THIS ABHORRENT 1975 UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION (3379) AND FULLY EXPECT THAT, IF CARRIED OVER INTO THE WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (GENEVA, AUGUST 1978) AND THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY (SEPTEMBER), IT WILL HAVE A SEVERE EFFECT ON US PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE UN. THE KEY TO WHETHER IT WILL CARRY OVER LIES WITH THE AFRICANS, WHO HAVE HITHERTO REGARDED Z/R AS AN UNHELPFUL DIVERSION FROM THE UN'S ANTI-APARTHEID EFFORTS AND OPPOSED REAFFIRMATION. HOWEVER, THE AFRICANS ARE ANGERED BY OUR REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORLD CONFERENCE (BECAUSE, IN OUR VIEW, IT IS TAINTED BY ASSOCIATION WITH RESOLUTION 3379), AND MAY NO LONGER OPPOSE THE ARABS ON REAFFIRMATION. THE BELGRADE

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DRAFT COMMUNIQUE OMITTS ANY REFERENCE TO Z/R BUT THIS IS NO INDICATION OF ARAB AND AFRICAN INTENTIONS.

5. TALKING POINTS:

-- IN OUR OPINION, RESOLUTION 3379 IS AN ABHORRENT AND TENDENTIOUS POLITICAL WEAPON WITH NO SUBSTANTIVE MERIT AND WITH GREAT DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL. WE TOTALLY REJECT IT BOTH ON SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS AND ON THE GROUNDS OF THE DAMAGE IT CAN DO TO PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE UN.

-- ATTEMPTS TO REAFFIRM THE RESOLUTION AT THIS TIME

ARE PART OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN WITH FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES FOR PEACE EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF THEY SUCCEED, THEY CAN ONLY ENGENDER A DEEP AND HOSTILE PUBLIC REACTION WHICH WILL HARDEN OFFICIAL POSITIONS, REDUCE ROOM FOR MANEUVER AND, THUS, COMPLICATE PEACE EFFORTS.

-- WE HOPE THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS WHICH SUPPORT THESE PEACE EFFORTS WILL THINK OF THE EFFECT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS A WHOLE WHEN CONSIDERING THEIR POSITIONS ON ANY EFFORT TO REVIVE Z/R AT BELGRADE.

-- THEY SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THAT REAFFIRMATION AT BELGRADE WILL GIVE ADDED IMPETUS TO Z/R AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE AND IN THE UN. REAFFIRMATION THERE WILL SERIOUSLY ERODE THE CREDIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN'S ANTI-APARTHEID EFFORTS IN KEY WESTERN COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE UN.

-- THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION AS A VERY STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE UN WILL BE MADE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT BY REAFFIRMATION OF Z/R IN THE UN.

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FOR OAU POSTS: YOU HAVE DISCRETION ON WHETHER TO GO IN IF REPRESENTATIONS ALONG THESE LINES WERE RECENTLY MADE . YOU SHOULD ADJUST THE PRESENTATION IN KLIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS AT THE OAU MEETING.

FOR ARAB POSTS: YOU MAY ADJUST TALKING POINTS TO SUIT YOUR CIRCUMSTANCES OR DECIDE NOT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS IF THEY WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE BUT POSTS IN MODERATE CAPITALS, ESPECIALLY CAIRO, AMMAN, TUNIS AND RABAT, SHOULD NOT DISMISS THE POSSIBILITY

THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS MAY BE PREPARED, AS THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY DONE, TO RESIST THE MORE RADICAL ARABS ON THIS ISSUE.

6. SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE AFRICANS AT HAVANA PROTECTED THE WESTERN INITIATIVES ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA IN THEIR RE-WRITE OF THE ORIGINAL CUBAN COMMUNIQUE; THERE WAS NO DIRECT OR DAMAGING REFERENCE TO THE INITIATIVES IN THE FINAL VERSION. TAKING THEIR CUE FROM THE AFRICANS, THE YUGOSLAVS' DRAFT COMMUNIQUE FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING REITERATES TRADITIONAL NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WITHOUT BREAKING NEW GROUND OR REFERRING DIRECTLY TO THE WESTERN INITIATIVES. THE OUTCOME ON THIS ISSUE AT BELGRADE WILL DEPEND HEAVILY ON THE STATE OF PLAY

IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA AT THE TIME OF THE MEETING; WITH SOUTH AFRICAN AND, NOW, SWAPO ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PLAN FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE THIS YEAR, WE WOULD EXPECT THE AFRICANS AND, HENCE, THE NAM TO TAKE A RELATIVELY UNCONTENTIOUS, IF NOT FAVORABLE, POSITION WITH RESPECT TO OUR ROLE IN AFRICA.
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7. TALKING POINTS:

-- THIS ADMINISTRATION ATTACHES THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO THE GOALS OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND IS WORKING WITH OUR WESTERN PARTNERS, FRONT LINE STATES AND OTHERS TOWARD THEIR EARLY ACCOMPLISHMENT.

-- THROUGH CONSIDERABLE EFFORT, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON A PLAN FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE.

-- WE BELIEVE THE NAM SHOULD TAKE POSITIVE COGNIZANCE OF THIS DEVELOPMENT AND MAKE IT INTO CONSIDERATION ALSO WHEN IT EVALUATES WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO IN RHODESIA.

8. MASS MEDIA. MASS MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS ISSUES ARE EXPECTED TO FIGURE PROMINENTLY AT THE BELGRADE MEETING AS THE NAM PREPARES FOR THE 20TH UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE (OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1978) AND THE WORLD ADMINISTRATIVE RADIO CONFERENCE (SEPTEMBER 1979). WORKING GROUPS WILL REPORT AT BELGRADE ON THE PROGRESS ATTAINED THUS FAR IN IMPLEMENTING THE "NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER," A GROUP OF PROPOSALS THAT SOME WISH TO TWIST INTO LEGITIMIZING GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF NEWS. IMPORTANT US INTERESTS, INCLUDING THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND CONTINUED UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO RADIO FREQUENCIES, ARE INVOLVED.

9. TALKING POINTS:

-- BOTH BILATERALLY AND THROUGH THE UN, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS ACCELERATED COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT FOR THE LDCS.

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-- WE PERCEIVE LESS CONFRONTATION AND A MORE MODERATE TONE TO THE GLOBAL DEBATE ON COMMUNICATION ISSUES, AND WE HOPE THIS MODERATION WILL BE ENDORSED AT BELGRADE.

-- THE U.S. MEDIA COMMUNITY UNDERSTANDS THIRD WORLD ASPIRATIONS IN MASS COMMUNICATION, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEWS AGENCY POOLS, AND STANDS READY TO OFFER A HELPING HAND. BUT IT IS OPPOSED TO CENSORSHIP, STATE CONTROL OF INFORMATION FLOWS AND RESTRICTIONS ON THE MOVEMENT AND WORK OF JOURNALISTS. THE GOAL SHOULD BE TO CREATE MORE VOICES NOT TO ELIMINATE THEM.

-- THERE IS ROOM FOR PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY IN THE UNDERSTANDING AND APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES BUT WE REGARD ACQUIESCENCE IN RESTRICTIONS OR ENCUMBRANCES UPON THE AUTONOMOUS MASS MEDIA AS CONTRARY TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO UPHOLD THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY ARTICLE 19, SPECIFYING THE RIGHT "TO SEEK, RECEIVE AND IMPART INFORMATION AND IDEAS FROM ANY MEDIA, REGARDLESS OF FRONTIERS," AND THE UNESCO CONSTITUTION, WHICH UPHOLDS "THE UNRESTRICTED PURSUIT OF OBJECTIVE TRUTH AND THE FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND KNOWLEDGE."

-- WE WILL COOPERATE WITH UNESCO DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOW IN CARRYING OUT HIS MANDATE TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS IN PURSUIT OF THE "LARGEST POSSIBLE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT" ON A DRAFT TEXT.

-- HOWEVER, WE SEE THE DRAFTS THAT HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED THUS FAR AS BEING IRRELEVANT TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE
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THIRD WORLD IN PURSUING GREATER EQUITY AND LESS DEPENDENCE IN COMMUNICATING WITH THE WORLD OUTSIDE THEIR BORDERS.

10. PUERTO RICO. THE HAVANA NACB COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS RELATIVELY MODERATE LANGUAGE ON PUERTO RICO, REPEATING

THE NOW TRADITIONAL CALL FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND UNSPECIFIED ACTION TO ACHIEVE THESE ENDS. WE EXPECT THE CUBANS TO TAKE THE LEAD ON THIS ISSUE AT BELGRADE, AS THEY HAVE DONE IN THE PAST, AS WELL AS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR A REITERATION OF THE TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE. THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS A PRO FORMA VERSION OF THE TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE. BARRING UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE NON-ALIGNED WILL WISH TO ANTAGONIZE THE US BY ADOPTING TOUGHER LANGUAGE ON THIS ISSUE, WHICH MOST OF THEM ANYWAY SEE AS MARGINAL TO THE NAM. OUR MAIN OBJECTIVE IS TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS ON THE PUERTO RICAN LANGUAGE AT BELGRADE

AND, THUS, WEAKEN THE IMPACT OF THE NON-ALIGNED POSITION ON THIS INTERNAL US MATTER.

11. TALKING POINTS:

-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT HOST GOVERNMENT IS INFORMED OF THE VIEWS OF THE US REGARDING THE STATUS OF PUERTO RICO, BUT BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE TO US WE WISH TO DRAW THIS MATTER TO HOST GOVERNMENT'S ATTENTION PRIOR TO THE BELGRADE MEETING.

-- THE US RECOGNIZES AND SUPPORTS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO SELF-DETERMINATION, INCLUDING INDEPENDENCE IF THAT IS THEIR WISH. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS STATED THAT HE WILL SUPPORT WHATEVER STATUS THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO DESIRE.
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-- THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO REGULARLY VOTE IN FREE ELECTIONS IN WHICH PRO-INDEPENDENCE, PRO-STATEHOOD AND PRO-COMMONWEALTH PARTIES PARTICIPATE. THE VOTERS HAVE ALWAYS FAVORED PRO-COMMONWEALTH OR PRO-STATEHOOD PARTIES. THE COMBINED VOTE OF THE TWO PRO-INDEPENDENCE PARTIES WHICH CONTESTED THE 1976 ELECTION WAS APPROXIMATELY 6 PERCENT. WE BELIEVE IT IS INAPPROPRIATE THAT OUTSIDE BODIES SHOULD CALL FOR PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE DESPITE THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY.

-- WE CONSIDER THE STATUS OF PUERTO RICO TO BE AN INTERNAL MATTER WHICH SHOULD BE RESOLVED BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO AND THE US GOVERNMENT. IN PARTICULAR, ANY COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION IS INAPPROPRIATE; WE STRENUOUSLY OPPOSE IT. ACTION BY THE UN ON PUERTO RICO WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES IN THE US AND DISCREDIT THE UN.

-- (WHERE APPROPRIATE) WE WERE PLEASED TO NOTE THE

RESERVATIONS ENTERED BY HOST GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS ON
THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT HAVANA.

-- IF THE BELGRADE COMMUNIQUE INCLUDES LANGUAGE
CALLING FOR ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS TO BRING
ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO, WE HOPE HOST
GOVERNMENT WILL (AGAIN) MAKE KNOWN ITS RESERVATIONS
ON THE SUBJECT.

12. KOREA. THE NAM HAS LONG TAKEN A COMPLETELY
ONE-SIDED POSITION IN FAVOR OF NORTH KOREA, A FULL

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MEMBER OF THE MOVEMENT. IT DID SO AGAIN AT HAVANA,
INDEED TOUGHENING THE LANGUAGE. FURTHER NAM ENDORSEMENT
OF THAT LANGUAGE COULD ENCOURAGE THE NORTH KOREANS TO
THINK SERIOUSLY OF REINTRODUCING THE KOREAN QUESTION
IN THE UNGA AGENDA AFTER AN ABSENCE OF TWO YEARS.

THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT COMMUNIQUE HEWS CLOSELY TO
THE TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE ON KOREA, IN A SOMEWHAT
BLANDER FORM THAN THAT EMPLOYED AT HAVANA. WE DO
NOT BELIEVE ANYONE, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF
PYONGYANG, WANTS TO RESUME THE FRUITLESS AND BITTER
UNGA KOREA DEBATES OF THE PAST BUT THE NORTH KOREANS
ARE NOTHING IF NOT DETERMINED.

13. TALKING POINTS:

-- THE ABSENCE OF THE KOREA ISSUE FROM THE 31ST AND
32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLIES SAVED TIME AND ENERGY FOR
MORE PRODUCTIVE ISSUES AND REMOVED A DIVISIVE QUESTION
FROM THE AGENDA.

-- WE STRONGLY HOPE THE NAM WILL TREAT THE ISSUE IN
A WAY WHICH CONTINUES TO LEAVE THE ISSUE TO BE PURSUED BY
THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED.

-- IF THE NAM NEVERTHELESS ADOPTS UNACCEPTABLE
LANGUAGE ON KOREA, WE HOPE HOST GOVERNMENT WILL (AGAIN)
MAKE KNOWN ITS RESERVATIONS.

CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE. VANCE

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